

For Women, October 2, 1914.

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²
THE WAR PAPER FOR WOMEN

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 34B.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1914.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free)

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UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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AUTUMN CAMPAIGN IN LONDON

The autumn campaign of the United Suffragists has now begun in real earnest. After we go to press, on Wednesday evening in this week, the Committee will be "at home" to members and their friends at the Eustace Miles Restaurant.

A Public Meeting

This will be the prelude to a series of monthly indoor meetings, the first of which will be held in the Large Essex Hall on Friday evening, October 16, at 8 p.m., admission free (reserved seats 1s.). The speakers will be Mrs. Ben Webster, Mr. Laurence Housman, the Rev. J. M. Maillard (all Vice-Presidents of the U.S.), and Miss Kitty Ennis, who is one of our paper-sellers and a constant speaker in the South London campaign. The chair will be taken by Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Why We Keep the Suffrage Flag Flying

All our readers are asked to make a point of keeping this date—October 16—free, and to bring their friends, both men and women, to the meeting. Never was it more essential than now to keep the woman's point of view before the public; never was the woman's point of view more neglected by the ordinary Press. Yet women are equally affected with men by the war now raging on the Continent, and if the country is indeed to present an unbroken front to the enemy the voice of women as well as of men must be heard during the crisis.

U.S. MEMBERS AND THE WAR

Several members of the U.S. have gone to the front. Among others who have had to suspend suffrage work owing to the war is Mr.

H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer of the U.S., and well known for his services to the suffrage cause as speaker and indefatigable worker. He has rejoined his old regiment, and is now training a battery of Kitchener's Second Army on Salisbury Plain. Mrs. S. K. Ratcliffe has very kindly consented to act as Treasurer in his absence.

A Paper-seller's Story

One of our paper-sellers sends us a true story which shows the value of wearing a suffrage badge whether we are engaged in suffrage work or not. A working man came up to her on the Hammersmith pitch, and told her he had just heard from a comrade at the front who had been wounded at Mons. The letter said how well he had been nursed by one of the Red Cross women—"his own mother could not have done it better." He noticed on the nurse's uniform, below the Red Cross, another badge with "Votes for Women" on it. The letter went on to say that when he returned to England he "should demand votes for the women."

OPEN AIR CAMPAIGN

An extensive open-air campaign has also been planned for the autumn months. The experience of speakers, both in South London and in Hyde Park, shows that there is a public ready and anxious to hear the connection between the war and the women's demand for the vote. To that public the U.S. mean to appeal in a series of street corner and park meetings. All through the coming difficult months it is hoped to keep the purple, white, and orange flag flying at morning and afternoon meetings in shopping districts or at the Reformer's Tree, Hyde Park, and in the evenings in South London and elsewhere.

Speakers—Please Apply!

Miss Winifred Mayo has kindly consented again to give her services in conducting a Speakers' Class at 3, Adam Street, on Tuesday evenings at 8.15 p.m., beginning next Tuesday, October 6. Fee for a course of ten lessons, 2s. 6d., for U.S. members; for non-members, 3s. 6d.

Many speakers will be needed if the open-air campaign is to be a success. Will all speakers, men and women, very kindly offer their services to the Hon. Secretary at 3, Adam Street, saying what day, time, and district suits them best?

An Enthusiastic Policeman

It may encourage faint-hearted speakers to hear of the following incident:—A recent U.S. meeting had been going on at a street corner in South London for almost two hours when the speaker remarked that she must really close, as the police would object to the meeting being carried on after 10 p.m. "Don't mind me," the representative of the law promptly interjected; "I'll stay here all night, if you like!"

Forthcoming Meetings

Thursday, October 1: 8.15 p.m., Liverpool Street, Walworth Road. Mr. P. C. Darby and others.
Monday, October 5: 8.15 p.m., Heygate Street, Walworth Road. Miss Kitty Ennis and Mr. Charles Gray.
Tuesday, October 6: 8.15 p.m., St. George's Circus, Southwark. Miss A. Somers and Miss S. Dransfield.
Wednesday, October 7: 11.30 a.m., Newton Road, Westbourne Grove. Mrs. Ayrton Gould and others.
Thursday, October 8: 5 p.m., Reformer's Tree, Marble Arch. Mr. Charles Gray and others.

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

To-day is the birthday of a new volume of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and with this issue our paper enters upon a fresh lease of life. We look with confidence to our readers to support us loyally through the difficulties of the coming year as they have always done in the stormy years of the past.

The War and "Votes for Women"

We start our new year at a tragic moment in the history of Europe. All kinds of issues hang in the balance in the war that is now being waged on the Continent. Upon the political significance of these, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, the organ of a suffrage society composed of men and women whose only political meeting ground is Woman Suffrage, pronounces no opinion. Its business is to keep before the public the woman's point of view in time of war, as it has always done in time of peace, to emphasise the way that women are crippled, in war as in peace, through the want of political power, and to demand unceasingly that at this time of national danger the Government shall enfranchise the women they have wronged, and so enable the nation really to present an "unbroken front" to the enemy.

When the War is Over

The *Nation* in a leading article urges that the enfranchisement of women shall follow upon the conclusion of the war. "It is inconceivable," it says,

that a nation which has passed through this ordeal can ever be content to shut the door upon women to tell them that they belong to a separate order and that no sacrifice or heroism can gentle their condition. All these lesser prejudices will be dissolved, and no man who calls himself by the name of Liberal will ever grudge to women, who have so heavy a share in the burdens of the nation, a share in its responsibilities and councils.

This is admirable as far as it goes; but it does not go very far, not much farther than all suffragists went, indeed, before the South African war (or the militant movement) broke out. And since then, those who call themselves "by the name of Liberal" have not exactly gone out of their way—we speak mildly—as becomes a moment when enmities are lulled—to justify the faith of women in any propositions as to future action.

No Time Like the Present

There is, in fact, no time like the present for dealing with our question. Parliament will probably begin the business of the new Session on October 27, and it could not mark its sense of the "sacrifice and heroism" of women more liberally—we use the word in its fullest sense—than by giving women at once "a share in the responsibilities and councils" of the nation. As the *Daily Sketch* truly remarks of the new Session—

We must have not only business, but government as usual. We must be prepared soon to consider measures of reform and readjustment—only we shall consider them in a new light. The old party divisions have been obliterated in the flood of patriot-

ism, we shall be able without rancour to decide what is best for the nation.

The first of such measures of reform is indisputably Woman Suffrage. Yet only last week in Dublin the Prime Minister refused to receive a deputation from the Irish Women's Franchise League on the ground that "the present position of public affairs" made this impossible.

What is "Non-Controversial?"

The *Manchester Guardian* takes the same narrow view of the business that should occupy Parliament next Session. While admitting that there is not enough "emergency" legislation to occupy the House, it says: "It is obviously impossible to deal with ordinary legislation in times like the present," and goes on ingenuously to make an exception in favour of the Plural Voting Bill, saying: "There is no reason to despair of an arrangement by which any question of controversy on this matter might be avoided." If this is true of the Plural Voting Bill, on which parties are sharply divided, it is certainly true of a Woman Suffrage Bill, on which only individual members are divided in opinion. We dissent most emphatically from the view that it is impossible during the war to deal with legislation closely affecting the welfare of those millions who are left suffering at home. There are some people afflicted with what Mr. James Douglas in a witty article calls "Bellitis," who do not seem to realise that even if we are at war with Germany, people in this country have to go on being born, and eating and drinking, and dying. And women want the vote more than ever before in order to make the natural processes of life and death easier than they are at present for the great majority of our fellow-creatures.

The Failure of Relief to Relieve

This brings us to the obvious argument for the enfranchisement of women contained in the failure of national funds and relief committees so far to do anything in the least effectual to stem the mass of distress occasioned through the war. It is impossible for us to publish more than a tiny minimum of the heartrending stories, that reach us from all quarters, of the distress among poor and middle-class women thrown out of work. And we hear complaints on all sides of the way the Funds are being administered, how in one very poor district, more or less typical, we believe, of poor districts in London generally, the amount of the sum allotted from the Fund is so small that the maximum sum given to an adult has to be fixed at 3s. 6d. per week, and that given to a family at 10s. per week. And after it is given, "frequent inspection" is recommended from headquarters, in order, we suppose, to prevent a poor woman, or a family of six or seven, from spending this wretched pittance on riotous living!

Unemployment Among Women

It is to be hoped that the various schemes on foot for supplying work to unemployed and starving women will soon get under way. The Board of Trade figures alone account for 36,520 women out of work. But it is not encouraging to hear that the Women's Central Committee in connection with Queen Mary's Fund have fixed a maximum of ten shillings a week for the women employed at

their needlework centres, and that in some districts the pay, based upon Local Government figures, will be only eight shillings. It is difficult enough for a single woman to pay rent, board, clothes, boots, food, insurance, all bare necessities, out of ten shillings a week; for a married woman with a family to support it is impossible. And if she has to get "relief" as well, what unnecessary confusion and overlapping is caused!

Welsh Wives of Alien Enemies

A particularly hard case resulting from the anti-suffragist Nationalisation Act recently passed is that of the Welsh wives of German miners, about whom we print a communication from Mrs. Mansell Moullin and Dr. Helena Jones. They cannot be helped out of German funds, because they are Welsh women who have never even been out of Wales. The Prince of Wales' Fund (strange irony!) is refused to them because they are German subjects. Their husbands are taken from them and are now prisoners of war, leaving the women with their children quite destitute. We cannot believe that the young Prince, if he knew of their case, would not allow them to be helped out of the Fund which bears the name of their native land and his principality.

Tax Resistance

The attitude of those tax-resisters who still believe, in spite of the war, that it is impossible for them as conscientious Suffragists to pay taxes to an unrepresentative Government—we publish in this issue letters from Dr. Patch and Miss Clemence Housman to that effect—has received very great support from the action of the Free Church passive resisters. Many of these are well known to be strong supporters of the Government with regard to the war; yet, at Paddington Town Hall last Friday, exactly the same number of passive resisters as usual appeared to make their forty-second protest against the levying of a rate which they consider to be, in the words of Dr. Clifford, who addressed the magistrates,

"unjust in principle, injurious to the best asset of the nation, its younger citizenship, hurtful to religion, and a danger to the Commonwealth."

It will be well to recall these words if the action of Suffragist tax-resisters should be challenged in future as unpatriotic.

Death of a Distinguished Suffragist

Our readers will join with us in deep regret at the news of the death of Mrs. Ellen Mellicent Cobden, Richard Cobden's second daughter and sister to Mrs. Cobden Sanderson. She wrote under the name of "Miles Amber," and was a keen suffragist, though debarred by ill-health from taking an active part in the campaign. Our sympathies go out to her sister and her cousin, Mrs. Cobden Hirst (a Vice-President of the U.S.), in their sad loss, which is also a loss to the great movement that unites us all.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN ICELAND

(From Our Special Correspondent)

The following piece of news, which was brought by a trawler via Copenhagen, the regular Icelandic post being now suspended, will perhaps cheer you a little in this time of sorrow.

While war is raging in the centre of the so-called civilised world, far-off Iceland shows its understanding of what is conducive to the welfare of nations. On August 12 the Althing (parliament) adopted the reformed constitution proposed last year, which grants to women over forty years old the same political rights of voting and eligibility enjoyed by men over twenty-five years old, with the stipulation that for the women electors the required age is to be gradually lowered on each registration until it comes to twenty-five too. The Bill was carried unanimously by the Upper House, whilst in the Lower House one vote was cast against it. It only needs now the sanction of the King of Denmark to become law.

Martina G. Kramers.

DON'T FORGET

to write and tell us if you have any difficulty in obtaining

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The terms are, post free, 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 3s. 3d. for six months inside the United Kingdom, 8s. 8d. (2dols. 25cents) and 4s. 4d. (1dol. 15cents) abroad, payable in advance.

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MEMBERSHIP CARD

The United Suffragists—

(1) Believe that men and women can usefully co-operate on equal terms in one organisation for the enfranchisement of women.

(2) Regard Woman Suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, and will work without considering the interests of any political party.

(3) Recognise various forms of suffrage activity as of value, and are ready to contribute any kind of service according to their capacity and conviction.

There is no fixed subscription or entrance fee, but members are relied upon to support the Society to the best of their ability.

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I wish to join the United Suffragists, whose objects and methods I approve.

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1914.

"DEMOCRATIC CONTROL!"

There is a queer document going round the country now. It is issued by a body calling itself "The Union of Democratic Control," and is accompanied by a letter bearing the signatures of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Charles Trevelyan, Mr. Norman Angell, and Mr. E. D. Morel. The objects of the Union are the same as those expressed in an earlier letter to the Press, signed by the same four gentlemen, with the addition of Mr. Arthur Ponsonby. Mr. Ponsonby's name has now dropped out. He was the only one of the lot who ever attempted anything effective on behalf of true democracy, and now we may, for the sake of brevity, disregard the other signatures, and speak of the letter and the movement as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's alone. In all cases, his signature stands first, and we cannot doubt that his is the dominant personality in the Union.

We all honour a man or woman who makes a sacrifice to principle. We know what sacrifices women have made for our cause in the last eight years—sacrifices of careers, of friends, of position, of liberty, of health, and of life. To his conviction in regard to the war Mr. MacDonald has sacrificed his leadership of the Labour Party. We may not agree with his conviction. We may think he led the Labour Party so badly that his position was hardly worth keeping. Those considerations have nothing to do with the honour we pay him for sacrificing place to principle. Nor has the ultimate purpose of the so-called "Union of Democratic Control" much to do with our judgment upon its title and methods. Its purpose is to secure a just peace when the war ends—a peace founded on nationality by plebiscite, the democratic control of foreign policy, the substitution of a Concert of Europe for the Balance of Power, and a reduction of armaments by the consent of all the belligerents. On these or other terms, we all desire a just peace, and with the objects of the Union we have no further concern.

What does concern us is the obtuseness—we had almost said the insolence—of Mr. MacDonald's appeal. In his accompanying letter he appeals for the assistance of women as well as men. The copy we have before us begins, "Dear Madam." It goes on to mention expressions of approval that have come from "men and women" in all parts of the country. It endeavours to enlist the aid and co-operation of women by inviting their signatures, subscriptions, and influence. In a democratic State nothing could have been better. In such a State the appeal to women for assistance in a great national or international purpose would be a matter of course. It would be as far above objection or criticism as an appeal to men. But the whole point is that we are not a democratic State; that a national or political appeal to the women among us is a very different thing from the appeal to men; and that to call upon women to use constitutional influence for

national objects is a mockery, since they are wilfully deprived of the very elements of constitutional power.

And who has kept them thus wilfully deprived? Of all our false friends who have stabbed our cause in the back, next to Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. MacDonald himself has been the falsest, and has dealt the most treacherous blow. At a well-remembered meeting in the Albert Hall, he gave a solemn undertaking to turn the Government out if they failed to include women in a Suffrage Bill. As leader of the Labour Party (which is united on the question) it was well within his power to fulfil that pledge. The mere threat would have been sufficient. A threat would have made the suffrage a matter of life or death for the Government. A Minister or two might have been shed, but neither Mr. Asquith nor the Government as a whole could have held out against such pressure. Only the pressure was needed, but at one opportunity after another Mr. MacDonald refused to apply it. He may plead difficulty, but why, then, did he make the pledge? On finding difficulties insuperable, why did he not resign? He has shown himself capable of sacrifice. He has now resigned on principle. Yet session after session he continued to support Mr. Asquith without a threat, and to serve the anti-suffragist ends. What, then, is the obvious inference? That for the principle of woman suffrage, if he cared a penny, he did not care twopence; and that for the very basis of democracy he would make no sacrifice at all.

And now he comes whining to women for assistance—for just the kind of assistance which he has himself prevented them from giving! Once upon a time (to speak in the manner of Æsop) a man was rearing a dog, but he drew all its teeth, and fed it on slops. "For now," he said, "it won't be able to bite me." When the dog was grown up, a great wolf came and savagely attacked the man, who shrieked to the dog to defend him. But the dog had no teeth, and so the man was eaten up. We do not wish Mr. MacDonald to be eaten up. We have no doubt his intentions are admirable. But what can women do to save him? By his falsity or cowardice or indifference he has brought it about that women do not possess the one weapon which his enemy would fear.

We have no use for these Unions that call themselves democratic and deny half the grown-up population a place in the democracy. This Union's printed manifesto objects to a settlement resting "solely in the hands of those committed by associations and tradition to the maintenance of such a system," i.e., the political and diplomatic system which preceded the war. We also object that the settlement, not only of the war, but of all public questions, should rest solely in the hands of those committed by associations and tradition to the maintenance of the present system. By association and tradition the males of this country claim the right of settling all public questions alone, and so long as that claim is maintained by the action or inert acquiescence of leaders like Mr. MacDonald, it is useless for them to chatter about "democratic control." It is no democracy they have in mind. At the best it is an androcracy or government by males, and when Mr. MacDonald's manifesto talks of "the people" or "the peoples" as possessing the right of final decision as to their future nationality or government, it is only of the masculine half of the peoples that he is thinking. Else why should he have broken his pledge to the women's cause in his own country, and thus have rendered his present appeal for women's political assistance futile in the eyes of every self-respecting woman?

"OUR FATHER"

By Hilda C. Adshead

"Father, can I ask you something?"

Mr. Guffery was anxious to be a model parent, and, to do him justice, he worked hard to attain his ideal; but he had taken his family to church that morning, and had afterwards carved many slices of beef at the family mid-day dinner, and, with a prospect of church again in the evening for the elder ones, he felt himself entitled to his present position—a recumbent one on the drawing-room sofa, with a good book in his hand, and his eyes closed in order to meditate with greater facility.

The small boy saw his book, and added, rapidly: "It's a religious question, Father—it's about prayers."

"Well, my son?" Mr. Guffery said, repressing a yawn and laying down the good book in order to fold his hands.

"This war, Father—"

"Now, my son," Mr. Guffery said firmly, "didn't I tell you we couldn't talk about the war on Sunday?"

"We talked about it in church, Father. It was all about it, and I wondered—"

"Go on," said the parent, resignedly. "What is it?"

"Don't God like the Germans, Father?"

"Well, He—I suppose He—likes them when they're good," Mr. Guffery said rather lamely. "At present they're behaving badly, you see."

"Not all of them, Father, are they?" urged the small boy, unhappily. "I heard some one say that the Kaiser said that God had been fighting for them."

"It was a mistake, my boy."

"He's just fighting for us, is He? But we're rather scared He won't manage, aren't we, Father? We've only sent a few men, haven't we?"

"What do you mean, child?" Mr. Guffery said, beginning to look worried.

"Well, we're praying, sort of sucking up to Him, aren't we?" the boy said. "Just like Dickens does to Pudkins when he doesn't want Pudkins to lick him. We're telling God how He can save us if we have only got a few men; aren't we, Father? Do you think He will? Does He always fight for the English?"

"Always, my boy. He always has and always will," Mr. Guffery said fervently, as became a good churchwarden and a model parent.

"But if He can fight with only a few chaps," went on the small boy, "why do we keep saying we've got to have a lot?"

"Where's your mother?" Mr. Guffery said hastily.

"She's lying down, and she's no good answering questions," said his son, resentfully. "She says God loves all His children; and He can't, you know, if He's fighting for us and chucking the Germans, can He? Mother says God doesn't like us fighting at all. She says—"

Mr. Guffery had a strong impulse to confide in his young son as man to man, and to put it to him that women had curious ideas, impracticable and often undesirable; but vistas of domestic upheavals which such ideas implanted in the small boy's mind might beget, checked him. After all, she was a good mother and a delightful wife, even if she was a little bit astray on this question.

"You mind your mother, my boy," he said; "and hadn't you better see what Jacky's doing?"

"He's smashing up worms in the garden; he says they're Germans," said Jack's brother. "He says they deserve it."

"Well, run along to him," said the goaded Mr. Guffery.

"But I want to ask you, Father—why do we ask God to stop the war?"

"Because we believe He can, my boy."

"But can He when we're going on fighting? I heard you telling Uncle Jim last night that you wouldn't be willing to stop till the Germans were beaten to their knees. Will God stop it if we're asking Him to, or will He go on fighting for us like we're asking Him to? It's very puzzling," sighed the child.

Then Mr. Guffery spoke the immortal sentence which has exasperated childish ears for many generations.

"You'll understand better when you're older."

"I'd like to understand now," said the boy, wistfully. "Fritz Halberg's father's gone to prison just 'cos he's a German, and he's such a nice man, and Fritz says when he grows up he'll be a soldier, and—and it's so puzzling, Father! When I fought Fritz and made his nose bleed you licked me for it, and told me I'd got to love my neighbour as myself; and if we grow up and fight one another and God fights for us—well!" he burst out defiantly.

"Why can't He fight for me when I make Fritz's nose bleed? Isn't it the same?"

"Not a bit the same," said Mr. Guffery, sternly. "You're talking nonsense. A little

boy like you can't understand at all. There, run away and tell Jacky he's not to hurt worms."

"But they're German worms! We're playing we're the English; we've only got one worm, but we've got a spade, too, and God's jolly well helping us! Doesn't God help you better, Father, when you've got lots of cannons?"

"Run away at once. You're a foolish boy."

"Only one more question, Father! We asked God to look after the poor people. Will He do it all by Himself, or do we have to help?"

"We have to help, of course. Now run away!"

"But if we have to help with the poor folks, oughtn't we to help with the war? And if we don't, will God do it all alone, and if He don't do it all alone, is He really fighting for us? And if He's fighting for the Germans too—"

Mr. Guffery made a threatening movement, and the small boy fled.

The wearied parent turned on his side with a sigh.

"How very difficult it is to explain the Christian religion to children!" he sighed. "They're such illogical little beggars!"

OUR NEW VOLUME

To Our Readers

VOTES FOR WOMEN starts its new volume to-day in a slightly altered form. We hope that our readers will like its more compact shape and the new arrangement of news and articles, and will show their appreciation by securing as many new annual subscribers as possible, and thus extending its sphere of influence. Annual subscribers are of special value, now that every effort has to be made to reduce the number of "returns" as far as possible.

"Votes for Women" for the Front

So let the paper be sent far and wide. Soldiers, we have been told, are glad to find VOTES FOR WOMEN among the newspapers sent out to them. Here is an opportunity to convert the Army while on active service!

OUR PAPER-SELLERS

One of a little group of London paper-sellers writes:—"The paper is going remarkably well. We have sold over 100 copies of this issue already. We have been congratulated many times on keeping a suffrage paper going during the war; and three new sellers have just joined us."

Mr. F. Merrick writes from 12, Parsonage Road, Withington, Manchester, to say that paper-sellers are much needed in that district. Perhaps volunteers will communicate with him? He says: "My wife and I are the only regular paper-sellers since the war broke out. We trust, however, that showing the paper is some use." It is, indeed; and we feel sure that Manchester United Suffragists on reading this will now reinforce these two valiant paper-sellers.

Encouraging Correspondents

The announcement of the At Home this week has brought many encouraging and kindly letters. Mr. W. L. George, the well-known author, says: "Feel very strongly that our movement must be maintained." Miss Winifred Holiday writes: "I read VOTES FOR WOMEN assiduously, and am thankful for the splendid work carried on by the U.S."

Mrs. Alice Park, the well-known Californian suffragist, writes to enrol herself and a friend as members of the U.S., and adds: "I rejoice to know that a few of the organisations will continue their work . . . But I never

blame the British women, whatever their tactics." That is the right U.S. spirit!

"Votes for Women" and Relief Work

Mr. Ben Webster writes that "the splendid work that women are doing now should be of enormous value in demonstrating the utter absurdity of debarring them from having the vote." Of course, we agree, while thinking, however, that this has been amply, though fruitlessly, demonstrated long before war broke out. And we are glad to hear from Miss Watts that VOTES FOR WOMEN is much appreciated by a Women's Suffrage Relief Corps in Nottingham, who manage to keep the suffrage flag flying while engaging in "all sorts of local relief work."

Mr. H. W. Burne regrets that, "being ordered to the front for medical service," he will be unable to do active suffrage work till his return, when he hopes to continue work for the U.S.

Here is the kind of letter we really like to have from a subscriber (Miss L. S. Dock): "I wrote a short time ago withdrawing my subscription because of the general financial stringency, but I am again renewing it, because I feel your work in keeping the suffrage demands forward during this most stupid war is so splendid that you deserve all gratitude and help."

Help Our Advertisers!

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**WE SUPPORT THOSE FIRMS
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Now that advertisements, on account of the war, are not so plentiful as in normal times, we appeal to our readers to cut out the above form (or write to the Publishers, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., for a book containing twenty-five of these labels, gummed, post free, 1d.), and stick it on their letters and accounts in dealing with the firms who advertise in our paper. Only in this way will advertisers be convinced in the present crisis that it is worth their while to advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN. Those who cannot send us money can thus help to bring us in a revenue.

A WAR THAT NEVER ENDS

Against Starvation, Unemployment, Sweating, Bad Housing

While the roll of honour grows tragically longer and gallant fighters die for their country on sea and land, a war that never ends is being fought out, day by day, at home. Its warriors are women out of work, women with families starving round them and landlords threatening to evict them, women who can scarcely allow themselves the luxury of grief when their men's names appear in the casualty lists, because they have to go on fighting their endless battle against hunger and disease and all the miseries that come from unemployment, sweated wages, and bad housing. And day by day their casualty list grows longer, of children who cannot struggle through it all to manhood and womanhood, of young girls who go under from inability to earn an honest livelihood, of others who simply give in and die, as it is ironically termed, "from natural causes." It is a battle that goes on whether we are at peace or war, and until women get their vote and their rightful status in the country, they are fighting it with obsolete weapons.

THE TRAGEDIES OF "RELIEF"

By a Member of a Relief Committee

A statement has been made in the daily Press that the machinery for administering the Prince of Wales' Fund is being perfected. This may be so in some districts, but in the East of London, where I serve, conditions are growing worse. We have been told that women workers suffering from the war are to be helped through this terrible time. May I cite an instance of how one woman has been "helped"?

The Case of a Blouse-maker

H. J., a blouse maker, aged twenty-five, unable to get work on account of the war, applied on September 7 for assistance from the Relief Committee. After a fortnight's delay this woman was informed that her case would be recommended to the Queen Mary's Committee. The Queen Mary's Committee was just being formed, and at the time H. J. was referred to its care there was no local organisation established! This young woman will probably be permitted to starve for another fortnight.

It is only fair to point out that the Ward Relief Committee is practically powerless to give relief; they can only recommend to the Executive that relief shall be given to investigated cases. If the Executive consider that a recommendation is not in order, the Ward Committee are powerless to enforce it. We have about 300 cases so far, and the paltry sum of £100 has been allotted to this district. We may not give more than 3s. 6d. per week to an adult, because, if we did, there would not be sufficient to go round. To give a woman with no other resources whatever 3s. 6d. per week is not relief, it is merely prolonging her suffering by helping her to starve for a little longer period.

Another Case

C. W., a married couple, with four children under seven; earnings reduced to 15s. on account of the war, and complete unemployment expected next week. The rent is 6s. per week. The children are not being fed at school. This family are receiving only 7s. per week from the relief fund, and it is the maximum in our power to give them. The woman looks delicate, and is very depressed because she cannot leave her children and go out to work—if she could get it. Does anyone suppose that four children and two adults can exist decently on such a sum? What happens is that the parents half-starve themselves so that the children may have more.

A Starving Family

I visited a little family last week who are suffering acutely through the war. The household consists of a mother (widow) and three daughters. The mother is a machinist, and has lost her work. The youngest girl is at school, and is not getting free meals. The second girl is out of work, and the elder girl is working part time. They are pitifully anxious to keep their home, but the rent is 6s. a week.

I asked the elder girl how much she had earned during the week.

"Seven and ninepence after deductions."

I enquired how much her fares were.

She smiled bravely and replied, "Fourpence a day; but I walk."

Further enquiries elicited the fact that this girl

walked to and from Leyton to Aldersgate, a distance of about twelve miles, frequently without breakfast, to earn the magnificent sum of 8s. per week! She regarded this as a hardship to be taken as a matter of course. This family are receiving 10s. per week from the Relief Fund, which enables them to exist, pay for coal, light, insurance, clothes, and food.

A. W.

WOMEN OUT OF WORK

"Women wage-earners," says the *Daily Citizen*, "have perhaps been the worst sufferers of all, being for the most part engaged in industries particularly liable to be affected." Tailoresses and dressmakers of all kinds are being thrown out of work through the retrenchment made necessary by the war in the expenditure of the middle classes. Middle class women workers are terribly affected through this retrenchment, whether they are actresses, writers, artists, musicians (whose paid services are considered as luxuries, not necessities), or typists, clerks, and secretaries. Of this latter class it was found on enquiry at the office of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, that the number who registered last week was 50 per cent. higher than it was the week before. Domestic servants are similarly swelling the ranks of the unemployed. So are all those usually employed in factories that are dependent on raw material no longer obtainable on account of the war, or on the supply of articles that are not necessities, and for which there is consequently no demand at present.

What is Being Done?

The hopes of workless women are centred upon the Central Women's Committee of the Queen's Work for Women Fund; but what this body will accomplish for them still remains to be seen. In an interview with a Press representative, Miss Mary Macarthur spoke of devising schemes of employment for workless women, including those for mending and repairing the clothing of the customers of laundries, for the opening of maternity centres and

also of a centre for fruit preserving and vegetable drying.

We cannot help observing that these three schemes owe their origin to Suffragists. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has already started what it calls a "Menderies," where clothes can be mended by women out of work; Miss Llewelyn Davies and others advocated the starting of maternity centres at the very beginning of the war; and the preservation of food is one of the most successful of the many schemes started by the Women's Emergency Corps, which is manned largely by Suffragists.

THE CHILD AND THE WAR

The Non-Combatant

A bomb dropped by a German aeroplane in Paris, last Monday morning, tore off the legs of a little girl of seven who was walking to church with her father. The man was killed, and the child was not expected to live. If she recovers, what a memory she will have to carry with her through life!

The "Enemy"

A girl of German extraction who recently won a scholarship to the High School at Wycombe has been struck off the list, the Governors having protested against educating an enemy's child. Were they afraid she would blow them up with a bomb? Or betray the sinister secrets of High Wycombe to the German War Office?

The Out-of-Work

The Education Committee of the London County Council have adopted a scheme whereby centres are to be opened to provide instruction for girls and boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen who are out of work through the war.

If the war "that never ends" is ever brought to a successful conclusion, perhaps children of that age will not have to be counted among the "out-of-works."

CORRESPONDENCE

TAX RESISTANCE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—At this time of grave national crisis we are all at one in desiring to promote the best and truest interests of our country, but differences of opinion are sure to arise as to how these interests can best be served. There are probably some who, like myself, have felt it impossible conscientiously to pay taxes imposed by an unrepresentative Government, and even now feel that such a Government is not competent to spend in the best interests of the whole nation the money paid into its exchequer. Nevertheless, we would give "not grudgingly or of necessity" to meet our country's need through channels of our own choosing. May I therefore suggest that such women as are still on principle tax resisters should send the money to one or more of the various national funds as "Taxes Withheld from the Government by Voteless Women."—Yours faithfully,

W. S. PATCH, M.D.

31, Highbury Place, N.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—May I ask you to insert one reply sent to the Board of Inland Revenue by a tax-resisting woman, which represents the position that, I believe, many others are resolved to maintain?—Yours, &c.,

CLEMENCE HOUSMAN.

1, Pembroke Cottages, Edwardes Square, W.

To the Secretary for Inland Revenue.

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge your communication of the 12th inst. I understand the suggestion to be that, because of war waged on behalf of the rights of Belgium, I should cease to contend against violation of right and liberties here in England. This, even temporarily, I cannot conscientiously do. Though against me action that is unconstitutional may, even at the present time, be continued, it must still be my part to abide by plain constitutional

duty in refusing consent to taxation without representation.

With great regret, therefore, I must decline to take the course indicated.—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

CLEMENCE HOUSMAN.

1, Pembroke Cottages, Edwardes Square, W.

The letter from the Secretary for Inland Revenue ran as follows:—The Board of Inland Revenue are of opinion that you will probably desire at the present time to make early payment of the arrears of taxes outstanding against you. I am accordingly directed to inform you that these arrears are as follows:— (Here follows the amount of the arrears.)

WELSH WIVES OF GERMAN MINERS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—May we, through your paper, appeal for assistance for some thirty-six of our countrywomen and their children who are the victims of the Naturalisation Law which deprives a woman who marries a foreign subject of her nationality. These Welsh women are the wives of Germans who were working in the Welsh mines, and they were born in Wales and have never been out of Wales. Owing to the war their husbands are now prisoners in England, and they and their families are left absolutely destitute. The administrators of the Prince of Wales' Fund have refused to assist them, on the ground that they are not British subjects, and they cannot be helped from German funds.

We propose, therefore, to raise a special fund for their relief, and feel sure we may rely upon a generous response from those of your readers who realise what it is to these poor women to have not only their husbands torn from them, but to lose their homes and see their children starving. The American Consul at Swansea has most kindly offered his co-operation in the distribution of the fund.—We are, yours, &c.,

EDITH R. MANSELL MOULLIN, 69, Wimpole Street, London; HELENA GERTRUDE JONES, M.B., B.S., D.P.H., 3, Rhodesia Avenue, Halifax, Yorks. (Hon. Treasurer of the Fund).

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Little Girl

The *Daily Herald* (September 18) reports case of a police constable charged at the Central Criminal Court with a serious offence against a little girl. Sentence: *Twelve months' hard labour.*

Assault on a Wife

The *Morning Advertiser* (September 26) reports case of a bootmaker charged before the Bench at West Ham with assaulting his wife by knocking her about and telling her to get out of the place. She said she had five children and her husband was carrying on with another woman, and wanted to get rid of her. He admitted the existence of the other woman. Sentence: *Seven days' imprisonment.*

Cruelty to a Donkey

The *Evening Standard* (July 6) reports case of a costermonger charged before Mr. Francis at Westminster with cruelly beating a donkey by striking it with the butt end of the whip and prodding it with the end, which had a steel point to it. The animal had a new wound and several old ones. Sentence: *Fined 20s. or fourteen days' hard labour.*

The first comparison in our table of punishments this week shows how much more important in the eyes of the law is the protection of a cheque for £30 than the protection of a little girl. It is true that for the offence against the child the offender was actually given a twelve months' sentence, whereas in some courts he would have been let off with a paltry fine, or might even have been bound over, and so set free at once to repeat his offence. But in the same Court the man who had the prime share in forging and uttering the cheque was thought sufficiently dangerous to be put under lock and key for three years; and, counting the sentences given to his two accomplices, an aggregate of six years' imprisonment is now being served for that £30, as against the year for the offence against a human child. Again, four times the sentence is given to a destitute couple who dared to "sleep out" and be guilty of possessing "no fixed abode," as is given to a man who not only knocked his wife about as if she had been a piece of furniture, but further insulted her by admitting that he had relations with another woman. We cannot wonder that women count so little in the nation when war breaks out, if the daily proceedings in our courts are an indication of their civil status.

THE LEGAL PARENT

Remembering how many mothers (who are never considered parents of their own children in the eyes of the law until there is a penalty to be inflicted) have been sent to prison for neglecting their children while their husbands, though apparently equally to blame, are let off with a fine, we are not surprised that a painter summoned at Woolwich Police Court the other day for neglecting his nine children by refusing to give his wife money to maintain them, was merely bound over by Mr. Symmons and ordered to pay costs. But it is encouraging to find the magistrate remonstrating with the man for offering to allow his wife only 10s. a week out of his wage of £2.

"A very handsome offer!" he is reported in the *Pioneer* (September 18) to have exclaimed. "One shilling a

HEAVY SENTENCES

Uttering a Forged Cheque

The *Westminster Gazette* (September 16) reports case of an agent charged at the Central Criminal Court before the Recorder with being concerned with two others in forging and uttering a cheque for £30. He was regarded as the principal offender. Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude for the agent, and eighteen months' hard labour for the other two.*

Sleeping Out

The *Coventry Times* (September 23) reports case of a labourer and a charwoman, charged at the County Petty Sessions before Mr. R. Lant (chairman), Mr. W. Johnson, M.P., Mr. J. V. Pugh, Mr. E. Walton, and Mr. G. H. Pickering, with sleeping out at Canley on September 18. They had "no fixed abode." Sentence: *Twenty-eight days' imprisonment.*

Stealing a Purse

Our own correspondent reports case of a man charged before Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., at the London Sessions on September 22 with stealing a purse containing £1 4s. 6d. and 6d. in stamps from a lady's handbag at Paddington Station. There was a previous conviction. Sentence: *Nine months' imprisonment.*

week for each child and a shilling over for luxuries!"

We quite agree. Yet a maximum wage of 10s. a week has been fixed for women by the Women's Committee for providing work for unemployed women in connection with Queen Mary's Fund; and the Relief Committees are, in some cases at least, fixing a maximum of 10s. for a family relieved out of the Prince of Wales' Fund. The magistrate, in our opinion, was right in condemning such a sum as totally inadequate for the support of a family, and we hope his words will reach those who are responsible for dispensing the national funds now being raised.

MRS. PANKHURST

Mrs. Pankhurst, who had a great reception when she spoke to a crowded meeting held on Thursday in last week at the Kingsway Hall, compared the determination in the faces of the men going to the front with the determination which she had often seen in her own sex when fighting against overwhelming odds down at Westminster. She went on to say she saw the possibility, arising out of this terrible war, of getting a great many of the things which women cared for while the men were occupied in other directions. There was no reason, she maintained, why any woman should be out of employment at the present time, and she added amid laughter that she thought there could be no harm even in interviewing the Bishops again.

THE EAST LONDON SUFFRAGETTES

The East London Federation of the Suffragettes have by no means dropped suffrage work, and their open-air meetings testify to the success of their political and propagandist campaign and the interest and support it arouses among the people. Nor is propaganda forgotten when relief work is undertaken, and many genuine converts are made among the women who come to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's cost-price restaurants. A large new centre of this kind has been opened this week at Poplar, where two-course meals are served for 2d.—children 1d. At the same centre it is hoped shortly to start a workroom for unemployed women, and a crèche for their babies. But of course, all these things require more funds.

THE WAR AND THE LARDER

Just now, when we are all wondering what we are going to pay for our food this winter, a course of lectures announced for the Michaelmas term on "Our Food Supply During War Time" ought to be very helpful. Mrs. McKillop, M.A. (King's College

for Women), who, besides being a good Suffragist, is well known for her valuable work in Home Science, will give four lectures on this subject at Leinster House School (2, Leinster Gardens, W.) on Wednesdays at 3 p.m., beginning October 14. They will deal not only with the actual food supply, but also with diet and the science of feeding, and with cooking both at home and in large quantities for public meals. The fee for the course is half a guinea.

WOMAN'S SPHERE

The *Challenge* rightly criticises a Church contemporary for printing a column of cookery recipes and hints under the title, "Women's Duty Today." "Nursing and cooking," proceeds the *Challenge*, "is always to be their province, but not the only one, and to set down half a dozen simple cookery recipes under the strong title of 'women's duty' is to be almost flippant. . . . At all events, the spirit which sets out to compass new responsibilities for women seems to us more worthy than that which is content only with domestic work in time of war."

That old idea of "woman's sphere" takes a lot of killing, though even in Berlin, where, we are told, women's position is not the highest in the world, they are thought to be fit to take the men's places on the trams and in other public services. And an Englishwoman just returned from captivity in Germany tells us that in Pomerania the women are ploughing and doing all kinds of field work. If this war kills the prejudice against women doing so-called men's work it will have accomplished a bigger thing than anything it proposes to do in a political sense!

*The hand that rocks the cradle
"Should help" to rule the world.*

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W. 11.30, Miss Harriet Rix; 7, Dr. Riley.

ST. MARY - AT - HILL. — Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

SALE OF WORK, Antiques, and Curios, Friday, October 23, 2.30 to 9.30, at Alan's Rooms, 263, Oxford Street. Organised by Forward Cymric Suffrage Union. Proceeds for Welsh women and children suffering through the war. Mrs. D. A. Thomas will open the Sale. Speeches by Miss Abadam, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and others. Subject: "Women and War." Tickets and all particulars from Mrs. Mansell Moullin, 69, Wimpole Street, W. Please come.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY will resume its Tuesday meetings at Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on October 6, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Nevinston, Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Chair: Mrs. Frederick Kerr. Workroom on view afterwards.

WHITE ROSE LEAGUE APPEAL. — Mrs. Hugo Ames is very grateful. Please send more little down pillows and knitted helmets. — Strathconan House, 27, Addison Road North.

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